

PEKING REVIEW

28

July 12, 1974

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**Liberate History From Confines of the
Historians' Lecture Rooms and Textbooks**

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**The Cause of Independent and Peaceful
Reunification of Korea Will Surely Triumph**

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**Chinese Delegation Leader's Speech at
U.N. Conference on Law of the Sea**

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北京周报

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Premier Chou Meets U.S. Senator Jackson and His Wife

Premier Chou En-lai met U.S. Democratic Senator Henry M. Jackson and his wife in a hospital on July 5. Premier Chou asked the senator to convey his regards to President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger on his return home.

Senator Jackson, Mrs. Jackson and the senator's party were in China from July 1 to 6. They visited Peking, Shanghai and Soochow. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Chiao Kuan-hua and other leaders met the U.S. guests on different occasions during their stay in Peking.

Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi In Peking

Le Thanh Nghi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and his party arrived in Peking on July 5. They were welcomed that evening at a banquet given by Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council. Both the host and guest spoke at the banquet which was permeated in an atmosphere of amity and friendship.

In his speech, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien had warm praise for the fraternal Vietnamese people who, carrying forward the spirit of revolutionary heroism, have scored many new achievements in defending the fruits of the war of resistance, healing the wounds of war and rehabilitating and developing the socialist economy. He said that the Chinese people firmly support the solemn and just stand of the D.R.V.N. Government and the Vietnamese people in implementing the

Paris agreement and the Vietnamese people's just struggle. He expressed the conviction that the friendship between the two Parties, two countries and two peoples will surely be consolidated and developed constantly on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi noted in his speech that the Vietnamese people are carrying on a resolute struggle against grave violations of the Paris agreement by the United States and Saigon authorities, for defending the fruits of the revolution, developing the economy and proceeding to realize the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. Viet Nam and China, he said, are close, fraternal socialist neighbours. The militant unity and friendly relations and co-operation between the two peoples will certainly be daily consolidated and developed in all fields.

On July 6, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi held talks in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

The Vietnamese comrades-in-arms left Peking on July 7.

President Peron's Death Mourned

Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China Tung Pi-wu and Premier Chou En-lai on July 3 sent a message to Madame Maria Estela Martinez de Peron, President of the Republic of Argentina, expressing deep condolences on the death of the late Argentine President Juan Domingo Peron.

The message said: "President Peron was a celebrated statesman who worked actively during his life time to safeguard Argentina's national independence and strengthen the cause of unity of the Third World against hegemonism. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, we express our deep condolences to the Government and people of the

Republic of Argentina and our solicitous sympathy to yourself."

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman Hsu Hsiang-chien of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and others went to the Argentine Embassy to express their condolences on the same day.

Chairman Mao Tsetung sent a wreath. Written on the white ribbon on the wreath were the words, "To His Excellency General Juan Domingo Peron, President of the Republic of Argentina." Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Premier Chou En-lai and Chinese Ministries of Foreign Affairs and National Defence also sent wreaths.

The Chinese Government appointed Cheng Wei-chih, Chinese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Argentina, as special envoy to attend the funeral.

Goodwill Mission of the Gabon Republic Visits China

Konighi Okumba Dokwatsegue, Minister Delegate to the Presidency of the Gabon Republic in Charge of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Madame Dokwatsegue, and the Goodwill Mission of the Gabon Republic led by him made a friendly visit to China from June 30 to July 7.

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei and Vice-Foreign Minister Ho Ying had talks with Minister Delegate Dokwatsegue the day after his arrival. The distinguished Gabonese guests were warmly welcomed that evening at a banquet hosted by Foreign Minister Chi. The two ministers spoke at the friendship-filled banquet.

Foreign Minister Chi pointed out in his speech that the present situation in Africa is excellent. He said: The recently convened successful

(Continued on p. 23.)

Liberate History From Confines of the Historians' Lecture Rooms and Textbooks

— Tientsin workers apply Marxist viewpoint to the study and dissemination of the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools

HAVING discarded fetishes and superstitions and emancipated their minds, the worker-theorists of the railway station in north China's port city of Tientsin have used the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to disseminate among the station's workers and staff the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools in graphic and easy-to-understand language. Their activities have been warmly welcomed, which fully demonstrates the role of the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and shows that only the proletariat armed with Marxism can display the dauntless revolutionary spirit and reverse the reversal of history by the reactionary ruling classes of bygone days, thus making historical experience better serve the current class struggle and two-line struggle.

Need for Deep-Going Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius

Inspired by the spirit of the Tenth Party Congress, the workers and staff of the Tientsin Railway Station began criticizing Confucius last September. Since the turn of this year, they have warmly responded to the

call of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and criticized Lin Piao's reactionary programme for restoring capitalism by following Confucius' preaching "restrain oneself and return to the rites." The development of the movement posed some new problems to be solved. Some workers raised these questions: Why did Lin Piao turn to the dead soul of Confucius for help in plotting to restore capitalism? Why were all the chieftains of the opportunist lines in the Party worshippers of Confucius?

These questions drew the attention of the station's Party committee. After studying the series of directives issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee concerning the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the committee members profoundly understood that criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle in the realm of the superstructure, through which Marxism will triumph over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Therefore, it is necessary not only to criticize the counter-revolutionary crimes of Lin Piao and his sworn followers but to uproot their ideological foundations. Lenin taught us: "The more deeply the old soil is

ploughed up by revolution, the more difficult will it be to restore the old order." "The more varied the exploiters' attempts to uphold the old, the sooner will the proletariat learn to ferret out its enemies from their last nook and corner, to pull up the roots of their domination."

Lin Piao used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as his reactionary ideological weapon and theoretical foundation to restore capitalism. For more than 2,000 years, every reactionary ruling class spared no effort to distort the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools and obliterate the latter's historical role, with the result that the pernicious influence of the doctrines of Confucius and



Worker-theorists' group of the Tientsin Railway Station discussing how to compile lecture notes on the short history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools.

Dare to Think and Do

Renmin Ribao published a commentary on July 5 praising the study and dissemination of the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools by the Tientsin Railway Station workers as "another pioneering undertaking of the working class and a good method of deepening the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius."

The commentary said: "Chairman Mao has taught us: It is necessary to know 'not only the China of today but also the China of yesterday and of the day before yesterday.' The current class struggle is a continuation of the class struggle throughout history. The struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools over the last 2,000 years or so still has its influence at present and has continued to this day. Using the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to sum up the past experience of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools is of great significance in further criticizing Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In order to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, it is necessary to study diligently Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, conscientiously study some history books, study the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the history of class struggle as a whole, read some books by the Legalists and integrate still better the historical experience

with the current class struggle and two-line struggle to serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"As far as the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are concerned, there are a great many difficulties for them to study history. But this is only one part of the problem. The other is that they have the style of daring to think and do and of dauntlessly going forward, and that they dare to shatter old conventions and break with traditional ideas. 'The reversed history must be set right!' 'If we do not study the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools, who will!' Such heroic words by the Tientsin station workers fully manifest the fearless revolutionary spirit of the Chinese working class. Facts have proved that the workers, peasants and soldiers can use Marxism to study and learn history. Liberate history from the confines of the historians' lecture rooms and textbooks, and turn it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses — this is not only absolutely necessary but entirely possible.

"Much work remains to be done to carry out the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a deep-going, popularized and sustained way. We should bring into full play the role of the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force. We should make a big effort to encourage their revolutionary heroism of dauntlessly going forward, advancing despite difficulties and never giving up until the goal is reached."

Mencius spread far and deep. To deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, it is essential to study well the history of the two-line struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools in the different historical periods over the last 2,000 years and more, draw on the historical experience of class struggle, eradicate the poisonous influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and have Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought occupy all ideological positions. Hence the Party committee decided to mobilize the masses to study the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools and combine the class struggle in history with that of the moment according to the principle of making the past serve the present, so as to carry the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end.

This decision received prompt and warm response from the workers and staff. Some workers said: "History has been made by us working people. If we don't study it, who will? If we don't take over the realm of history, who will?" All of them were determined to study hard and make progress by overcoming diffi-

culties. By studying and disseminating the history of the struggles between the two schools, they aimed at liberating history from the confines of the historians' lecture rooms and turn it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

Salient Features

Mid-May saw formation under the leadership of the station's Party committee of a group studying and disseminating the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools. It consists of three veteran workers who had their fill of suffering in the old society and have a fairly high level of consciousness of the two-line struggle in the Party, three young workers and three leading cadres including the secretary and deputy secretary of the Party committee. They studied in stages the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools from the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods (770-221 B.C.) to the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911). In the course of study, they repeatedly read the relevant works by



A veteran worker of the station talks about the history of the two-school struggles.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and applied the dialectical and historical materialist viewpoints to make a concrete analysis of the essence of the two-school struggles and their course of development. While combining the summing up of historical experience with the current class struggle, they studied the articles and material in newspapers and other publications on the two-school struggles and consulted some history books. It was indeed difficult for the workers to read so much in so short a time, but they managed to do it with a firm will. Thanks to their diligent reading and study, they initially compiled a series of fairly systematic lecture notes on the history of the two-school struggles and began disseminating it among the masses working at the station towards the end of May.

Written and edited by the workers and cadres themselves, these lecture notes have the following salient features:

1. Bringing into bold relief the focus and essence of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools. There were numerous representatives of the two schools and the struggles covered a wide scope in the 2,600 years between the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods and the downfall of the Ching Dynasty. With a view to enabling the masses to get the main points at issue, the group members only spoke briefly on the background of the two-school struggles and the exponents of both schools in every stage while emphatically and clearly pointing to the main focus of the struggles. As regards such struggles during the period from the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods to the Chin

Dynasty (221-207 B.C.), for instance, the accent is on "restoring or abolishing the nine squares (*ching tien*) land system," the "rule of rites or rule of law," "setting up ducal states or adopting the prefectural and county system" and "obeying or opposing the heavenly mandate." Through talks on these four problems the group members make it clear that the essence of the struggles lies in whether to turn back the clock of society or to persist in advancing and that Chin Shih Huang who went with the tide of social historical development held the Legalist school in esteem and opposed the Confucian school, laid more stress on the present than on the past and unified

China, thus playing the role of completing the transition to the feudal society.

2. Using the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyse historical figures and reverse the history that had been distorted and reversed by the reactionaries. For instance, the talk on the historically progressive role played by Chin Shih Huang is interspersed with historical events and legends popular among the masses, thereby making it clear that the incident of "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" was a struggle between restoration and counter-restoration. (See "Clarifying 'Burning Books and Burying Confucian Scholars Alive'" in *Peking Review*, No. 19, 1974.)

3. Criticizing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line Lin Piao pursued by using the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and his crimes of opposing the Party and betraying the country in close connection with the current class struggle and two-line struggle. Talks on Confucius and Mencius preaching "follow the former kings" and "restrain oneself and return to the rites" and vilifying the slaves' resistance and struggle and the rising landlord class' proposals for reforms are linked with criticism of Lin Piao's crimes of viciously attacking the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution by parroting Confucius' precept of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." Thus, politically speaking, all of them were reactionaries who "lay more stress on the past than on the present," "use ancient things to attack the present" and made futile attempts at restoration and retrogression. Talks on the "theory of the heavenly mandate," "heaven and man combine into one" and the "divine rights" advo-

cated by the Confucian school are linked with criticizing Lin Piao for trumpeting the idealist theory of apriorism and styling himself a "heavenly horse" and "the noblest of men," so as to show that ideologically all of them were idealists. Lectures on Confucius, Mencius and their like talking glibly about "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" while hatching conspiratorial and sinister schemes are linked with repudiating Lin Piao's crimes of working out the *Outline of Project "571,"* a programme for a counter-revolutionary coup d'état, by "speaking nice things to your face but stabbing you in the back." This shows that they were all insidious and ferocious counter-revolutionary double-dealers.

The group members also pay attention to properly evaluating the representatives of the Legalist school from the historical and dialectical materialist point of view, affirming their progressiveness while pointing out their class and historical limitations. Meanwhile, they give a brief account of the anti-Confucius struggles of the leaders of the labouring people's revolutionary struggles, such as Liuhsia Chih, Chen Sheng, Wu Kuang, Li Tzu-cheng and Hung Hsiu-chuan. (See "Working People's Struggle Against Confucius in Chinese History" in *Peking Review*, No. 13, 1974 and "Struggle Between Opposing and Worshipping Confucius Over the Last 100 Years" in No. 26.) By approving these leaders' more clear-cut viewpoint and firmer stand than the Legalists in opposing Confucius, the group spreads the historical materialist viewpoint that the slaves are the makers of history.

In the course of the dissemination, they keep soliciting the masses' opinions and pooling the latter's wisdom and repeatedly revise their lecture notes to perfect and condense them still more.

Tremendous Role

Dissemination of the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools has evoked strong repercussions from the masses. Some veteran workers have said: "By opening the 'safe' of history, we have seen more clearly what kind of stuff the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius is and have come to understand why Lin Piao wanted to hoist this sinister banner." Several young workers have noted: "The class struggle of the moment is a continuation of that of the past. If we want to be the worthy main force in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, we must know the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools and make a good study of the historical experience of class struggle, all in the service of the current class struggle."

With workers of various workshops going into action — some studying the history of the two-school struggles, others studying the representatives of the Legalist school, and still others criticizing the representative writings of the Confucian school — there is a new high tide in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius throughout the railway station.

The workers are all the more eager to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in order to deepen their criticism. Not long ago, another more than 100 workers joined the 150 spare-time study groups for studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao in units under the Tientsin Railway Station.

The experience of the station has now been popularized throughout Tientsin. An upsurge in studying the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools is rising, propelling the city-wide movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius to continue developing in a deep-going, popularized and sustained way.

Notes

1. The Confucian (*ju*) school was a school of thought founded by Confucius. The Chinese character *ju* originally referred to those who helped the slave-owning aristocrats make the arrangements for things like funerals. At first Confucius was also engaged in this profession. Trying everything to save the old institutions under the slave system, he later ran a private school to spread the ideas of a return to the old order and retrogression and took part in political activities opposing reform. A school of thought was gradually formed and later people called it the Confucian (*ju*) school. All those who inherited and elaborated the ideas of Confucius and Mencius in the later generations have been called Confucianists.

The Legalist school was an important school of thought which opposed the Confucian school in the Warring States Period. Its main representatives were Shang Yang (?-338 B.C.), Hsun Kuang (c. 313-238 B.C.) and Han Fei (c. 280-233 B.C.). Reflecting the interests of the new emerging landlord class, it propagated the materialist view that "man can conquer nature" in opposition to the idealist view of "abiding by the will of heaven and fate." It advocated changes in law and reform and opposed a return to the ancient order and retrogression. It stood for replacing the rule of "rites" by the rule of "law" and the dictatorship of the slave-owning class by the dictatorship of the landlord class. This school was later known as the Legalist school. All those who inherited and elaborated its ideas in later generations have been called Legalists.

2. The nine squares (*ching tien*) system was the land system of slave society in China's Western Chou Dynasty (c. 11th century-771 B.C.) and the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.), and the slave-owners used this system to exploit the slaves. At that time all the land in the country belonged to the son of Heaven (the sovereign). Land was divided into nine squares in the shape of the Chinese character *ching* and parcelled out to slave-owning aristocrats of different ranks who forced the slaves to cultivate the land given them.

3. The rule of "rites" was the political idea of the Confucian school and meant rule according to the rites of Chou. Starting from Confucius, the Confucianists stressed absolute observance of the system of a hierarchy, setting up ducal states and inheritance as well as the rites and ceremonies under the slave system of the Western Chou Dynasty, strict distinction between the social position of the slave-owners and slaves, and maintaining the rank and title by each slave-owning aristocrat without over-stepping them.

The rule of "law" was the political idea of the Legalist school. It meant using published laws and decrees, reflecting the interests of the new emerging landlord class, to oppose the slave-owning aristocrats' hereditary prerogatives and their system of hierarchy and setting up ducal

of the northern half of the Republic in violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement and created tension on the Korean Peninsula. Moreover, it has intensified its fascist suppression of the south Korean people and has spared no efforts in trumpeting "the simultaneous admission of the north and south Korea into the United Nations" in an attempt to create "two Koreas" and perpetuate the division. All these facts prove to the hilt that the Pak Jung Hi clique is clinging to the criminal policy of armed provocation, national split and opposition to the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. This completely goes against the national aspirations of the entire Korean people and therefore has been strongly condemned and resolutely opposed by them.

The key to the solution of the Korean question lies in the realization of the country's reunification by the Korean people themselves without any interference from foreign forces. President Kim Il Sung has pointed out: **"The Korean question must be left to the Korean people so they may solve it by themselves, on the principle of national self-determination without any interference of outside forces."** The Korean people are the masters of Korea and Korea's affairs should be solved by the Korean people themselves. More than twenty years have passed since the Korean armistice. There is no justification whatever for the U.S. aggressor

troops to continue to hang on in south Korea and they should be withdrawn immediately. The U.S. Government must stop all its military aid to the south Korean authorities. Only in this way can the necessary conditions be created for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The development of the present international situation becomes increasingly favourable to the Korean people's just cause of the reunification of their fatherland. The fighting Third World countries and people as well as other people of the world all stand on the side of the Korean people. The people of China and Korea are reliable comrades-in-arms and brothers sharing weal and woe. While marking the occasion of the first anniversary of President Kim Il Sung's five-point programme for the reunification of the fatherland and the second anniversary of the Joint Statement of North and South Korea, the Chinese people, cherishing militant friendship for the Korean people, once again express resolute support and militant solidarity with the Korean people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland. We are firmly convinced that under the wise leadership of their great leader President Kim Il Sung and the Korean Workers' Party, the Korean people, by persevering in struggle, will certainly be able to realize the sacred goal of the reunification of the fatherland.

Pak Jung Hi Clique, Saboteur of Korean Reunification

SINCE publication of the Joint Statement of North and South Korea on July 4, 1972, the Korean Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have consistently abided by the spirit of the statement, and advanced a series of reasonable propositions and concrete proposals for carrying out the principles of the statement and made unremitting efforts for the cause of reunification.

Correct Way of Reunification. The Second Session of the D.P.R.K. Fifth Supreme People's Assembly in April last year put forward a five-point proposal: an end to the reinforcement of armed forces and arms race by both sides; withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea; reduction of troops and armaments; an end to the introduction of all weapons and war supplies from abroad; and conclusion of a peace agreement.

On June 23 last year, President Kim Il Sung set forth a new line and a five-point programme for the independent and peaceful reunification of the father-

land: removal of the state of military confrontation and easing of tension between the north and the south; realization of many-sided collaboration and exchanges between the north and the south; convocation of a great national assembly; institution of a north-south confederation under the single name of the "Confederal Republic of Koryo"; entry into the United Nations under the single name of the "Confederal Republic of Koryo." He also stressed that the U.S. armed forces must withdraw from south Korea at the earliest date and that the "United Nations commission for the unification and rehabilitation of Korea" must be dissolved.

President Kim Il Sung's new line and five-point programme point out the correct way and steps for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, reflect the common aspirations and interests of the entire Korean people, and are of great importance in promoting the Korean people's cause of reunification of the fatherland. They have enhanced the fighting will of the Korean people in their struggle for the reunification

of the fatherland, and won widespread welcome and support from various countries in the world, especially the Third World countries and peoples.

The cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea should have made great progress if the above propositions and concrete proposals put forth by the Korean Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had been put into practice. These propositions and proposals are not only realistic and reasonable but also acceptable to both north and south. They constitute the correct road towards reunification of Korea.

Last March, the Third Session of the D.P.R.K. Fifth Supreme People's Assembly had on its agenda and discussed the question concerning the creation of prerequisites for the removal of the tension in Korea and promotion of the country's independent and peaceful reunification. It adopted a letter to the Congress of the United States of America, proposing talks with the United States on the conclusion of a peace agreement. This was another great effort by the Korean people for the reunification of their country. But there was no response from the U.S. Government.

Obstinate Obstruction. Contrary to the aspirations of the Korean people, the Pak clique, instigated by U.S. imperialism, in the past two years has repeatedly and stubbornly rejected the reasonable propositions and proposals put forth by the Korean Party and Government. This reveals that the reactionary clique does not have the slightest sincerity for reunifying Korea; it uses the north-south contacts only for the purpose of softening the south Korean people's discontent and resistance.

Facts in the past two years show that the Pak clique has been using the counter-revolutionary tactics of sham talks but real sabotage, sham reunification but real split. At the very outset of the north-south talks, it went all out to obstruct and undermine them, thus slowing down the process of talks. During that period the clique also strove to put together the "two Koreas" scheme. Following the frustration of its absurd proposal in June 1973 for "two Koreas" simultaneously entering the United Nations, it came up last January with a "proposal" on concluding a so-called north-south "non-aggression treaty" in an attempt to freeze the division of Korea into north and south.

The Pak clique has become more frantic in the past year in its reactionary acts of sabotaging Korea's reunification. It frenziedly suppressed the south Korean people's struggle against fascism and for reunification of the country, while carrying out military provocations against the north.

Since it took power, this clique has published more than 4,000 reactionary decrees for the suppression of the south Korean people. In the face of the south Korean people's surging struggle for the country's reunification, it has cooked up four "emergency meas-

ures" this year to intensify suppression and persecution of the people. Under these "measures," the clique can arrest, detain, search and try south Korean people at will. It can sentence and even put to death, under trumped-up charges, anyone it wants to persecute. Several thousand people have been arrested, jailed and sentenced severely this year, some murdered. South Korea is increasingly in a state of white terror.

Military Provocations. The Pak clique has clamoured that south Korea must "reinforce military equipment," "intensify combat training," "enhance the fighting capacity of the reserves," "further consolidate preparations for war" and "maintain maximum retaliatory capacity" so as to achieve "unification by prevailing over communism." In the last two years, U.S. imperialism and the Pak clique have carried out south Korea-U.S. "joint operational exercises," "airlifting mobile exercises," "guided missile firing exercises," "landing exercises," "winter mobile exercises" and other military exercises. Last year, U.S. imperialism and the Pak clique engaged in over 16,200 military provocations and violations of the Korean Armistice Agreement on the ground, from the sea and by air. In the first five months of this year alone, there were over 9,300 violations of the armistice agreement. For example, in January, the clique sent naval vessels into the waters of the northern half of the Republic for military provocation; in February, the clique's two spy ships intruded into the waters of the northern half for reconnaissance; on June 28, it sent a naval vessel and fighter planes into and over the waters of the northern half of the Republic.

The Pak clique's fascist tyranny and military provocations do not in any way show that it is strong. On the contrary, they only demonstrate that it is struggling desperately, isolated and declining under the attack of the Korean people's surging struggle. The south Korean people are persevering in the struggle against the clique's brutal oppression. Its military provocations have suffered ignominious defeats time and again under the blows of the heroic Korean People's Army.

Miserable Doom. As the great leader of the Korean people President Kim Il Sung pointed out: "If south Korean ruling circles continue their flagrant activities, they can only further reveal their true features as traitors, warlike elements and splittists before the people of the world, and accelerate their own miserable doom."

Today, the Korean people's aspirations for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland have become an irresistible historical trend. No matter how the Pak clique may trample underfoot the Joint Statement of North and South Korea and how frantically it may obstruct the reunification of Korea, the Korean people, with the support and solidarity of the world's people and relying on their own strength, will surely win final victory for the just cause of the reunification of the fatherland.

Chinese Delegation Leader Chai Shu-fan's Speech

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THE Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is at last successfully convened thanks to the persistent struggle of the numerous Third World countries and their active promotion. It is highly significant that this conference is being held in Latin America. For it is Latin American countries that took the lead in sounding the clarion call for defending the 200-nautical-mile maritime rights. Today, this struggle has won support from numerous small and medium-sized countries and grown into a world-wide struggle against the maritime hegemony of the two superpowers. The Chinese Government and people acclaim the convocation of the conference and would like to take this opportunity to extend our heartfelt greetings and respect to the people of all Latin American countries and also express our sincere thanks to the Government and people of the Republic of Venezuela for providing facilities for the conference. We are confident that, through the strengthened solidarity and joint efforts of the numerous Third World countries, the conference will make a positive contribution to the struggle of safeguarding the sovereignty and economic interests of nations and combating superpower hegemonism.

Since the two previous conferences of the United Nations on the law of the sea held in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, the international situation has undergone profound changes. About a dozen years ago, many of our countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America had

For several centuries, the vast seas have always been an arena of contention and rivalry among colonialist, imperialist and hegemonic powers. The savage

colonial rule, which brought untold sufferings to the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, was enforced precisely by means of the colonialist gunboat policy. The once mighty "maritime empires" were all built on the foundation of imperialist naval forces. Today, in their drive to seize world hegemony and plunder marine resources, the two superpowers have made contention for the seas an important part of their global strategy and are greatly intensifying and enlarging this contention. They are competing with each other in building up huge naval forces and establishing military bases everywhere. Their warships are dashing across every ocean in a show of force to intimidate and threaten other countries in all parts of the world. They send out powerful "fishing fleets" and "scientific research vessels" for rabid plunder of other countries' off-shore fishery and sea-bed resources. The superpower that flaunts the banner of socialism, in particular, is especially vicious in its tactics. It has inherited in toto the imperialist dogma that "he who controls the seas controls the world" and is engaged in maritime expansion in a big way. While clamouring for "disarmament," it spares no effort to increase its naval strength, expanding, in particular, its ocean-going fleets. Under the pretext of "friendship" and "aid," it is using all tactics, both soft and tough, to obtain from other countries the right to use their ports and various kinds of naval bases. Its different types of vessels installed with electronic equipment keep going to off-shore areas of many other countries to carry out espionage activities. It reaches out in every direction and worms its way into every crevice, and is so shameless as to boast about fulfilling the wild tsarist ambition of a century ago to dominate the seas.

The policies of aggression and expansion pursued by the superpowers and their hegemonic practices are seriously impairing and endangering the sovereignty and national economic interests of the numerous developing countries. To safeguard their national security and coastal resources, a number of Latin American countries declared the 200-nautical-mile extent of sovereignty and national jurisdiction. Subsequently, numerous Third World countries seconded this position. Some Latin American countries proposed a 200-nautical-mile "patrimonial sea"; quite a number of other countries announced the extension of their territorial seas or the establishment of exclusive fishery zones. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries also solemnly proclaimed that coastal states have the right to establish exclusive economic zones or zones of national jurisdiction with a maximum limit of 200 nautical miles. This just position of the Third World has won the support of some of the Second World countries. Meanwhile,

Malaysia and Indonesia declared their right of jurisdiction over the Strait of Malacca. Mediterranean countries issued the just call for "a Mediterranean of the Mediterranean countries." Sri Lanka and other countries strongly demanded that the Indian Ocean should be a "zone of peace." A struggle against superpower maritime hegemony is raging tempestuously across the globe. It is an important aspect of the struggle of the numerous developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America to safeguard state sovereignty and develop the national economy, and is a new focus in the current struggle of the people of the world against hegemonism.

"Freedom of the High Seas" Advocated by Superpowers Means "Monopoly of the High Seas"

The current conference will deal with all aspects of the law of the sea. All the issues involved centre on a single question: Should superpower control and monopoly of the seas be broken or not, should the sovereignty and interests of the numerous small and medium-sized countries be defended or not? So far as the law of the sea itself is concerned, it means whether or not the outdated legal regime of the sea based on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism should be thoroughly changed and be replaced by a fair and reasonable new legal regime of the sea that respects the sovereignty and protects the economic rights and interests of all countries.

Over a long period of time, the superpowers have energetically advocated the "freedom of the high seas" and insisted that the territorial sea and scope of national jurisdiction of all countries be confined to the limit of three or twelve nautical miles, which no country must exceed. In actuality, the so-called "freedom of the high seas" is "monopoly of the high seas" by the superpowers. In advocating the "freedom of the high seas," they aim at maintaining and enlarging their prerogative of monopolizing the seas. The superpower which claims to be the "natural ally of the developing countries," in particular, is the most diehard apologist of the outdated imperialist legal regime of the sea. It openly asserted that it was its "inalienable legitimate right" to send warships to "sail in all parts of the world's oceans" and arbitrarily attacked the Third World countries' persistence in the 200-nautical-mile maritime rights as "unilateral action" and "extremism." Moreover, it derided the developing countries which advocate a fishery zone for coastal states beyond 12 nautical miles as being "technologically backward" and "under-exploiting the resources even of their territorial waters, not to mention resources in zones further from their coast," and accused them of "entirely failing to recognize the legitimate rights and interests of countries engaged in deep-sea fishing." This has completely revealed its features as an imperialist mari-

time overlord. Today, this very superpower which has all along opposed the developing countries defending their maritime rights has changed its tune all of a sudden and pretends a readiness to "accept" a 200-nautical-mile economic zone. However, while making the statement to this effect, it is putting forward preconditions and restrictions. On the question of fishery, for instance, it is still harping on the old tune and clinging to its position of the past, i.e., that coastal states should be allowed only the so-called preferential fishing rights. In so doing, it aims at continuing to push maritime hegemonism by employing new tactics. Such a design as it entertains should arouse the serious attention of the numerous small and medium-sized countries.

History is rolling onward and the people are marching forward — this cannot be stopped by any force whatsoever. With the powerful support of numerous small and medium-sized countries, the just position for 200-nautical-mile maritime rights advanced by Third World countries has broken the fetters of the outdated legal regime of the sea, deflated the arrogance of superpower maritime hegemonism and hoisted a glorious banner in the struggle to defend the legitimate rights and interests of nations and combat superpower hegemonism and power politics. Their heroic struggle has created a most favourable condition for thoroughly changing the outdated legal regime of the sea based on maritime hegemony and establishing a new legal regime of the sea that is fair and reasonable. This is a most heartening situation.

China's Consistent Views on Certain Important Questions of the Law of the Sea

At the many sessions of the United Nations Sea-Bed Committee held in recent years, many developing countries put forward a number of just propositions and reasonable proposals relating to the law of the sea. The Chinese Government and people firmly support all their just demands. These propositions and proposals should be made the basis of our discussions at this conference.

We hold that since the legal regime of the sea concerns the interests of all countries, it should be worked out jointly by all countries, big or small, through full discussions and earnest consultations on a truly equal footing. We are firmly opposed to control and monopoly by the superpowers and to their attempt to impose on others the outdated legal regime of the sea. The Declaration on the Law of the Sea adopted by the Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries last year solemnly states that "the new rules of the law of the sea must effectively contribute to the elimination of threats to the security of states and ensure respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity," we firmly support this statement.

We hold that to define the territorial sea and scope of national jurisdiction is the sovereign right of each country and brooks no dictation from one or two superpowers. Coastal states are entitled to reasonably define their territorial sea of an appropriate breadth and, beyond it, their exclusive economic or fishery zones of appropriate limits in the light of their specific natural conditions and the needs of their national economic development and national security. Of course, in defining their territorial sea and scope of national jurisdiction, they should take into account the legitimate interests of neighbouring countries and the convenience of international navigation. As for the question of setting a reasonable maximum limit to territorial seas which is internationally acceptable, it should be decided upon by all countries jointly on an equal footing. We reiterate our firm support for the position taken by many Latin American, African and Asian countries for the 200-nautical-mile maritime rights, including the territorial sea and the economic zone. This position represents their legitimate and reasonable rights and interests, which are in no way a bestowal by the superpowers. We also hold that land-locked states should enjoy reasonable rights and interests in the economic zones of neighbouring coastal states and have the right of transit through the territories and territorial seas of the latter and other sea areas.

We hold that navigation through straits that lie within the territorial seas of coastal states and are used for international navigation is an important question which must be reasonably resolved under the new law of the sea. Owing to the strategic importance of these straits, the superpowers have always tried to use them for their own hegemonic ends. In insisting on the application of the so-called principle of "freedom of the high seas" to these straits, they are holding in utter contempt the inviolable sovereignty of the states bordering on these straits. This should arouse the vigilance of all countries that cherish their sovereignty and international security, particularly the developing countries. We hold that it should be affirmed that the coastal states concerned have the right to regulate in respect of these straits and to formulate necessary rules and regulations in accordance with their security needs and interests while taking into account the convenience of international navigation and some reasonable international standards. Foreign non-military vessels can have the "right of innocent passage" but must observe the laws and relevant regulations of the coastal states. In accordance with their laws and regulations, coastal states can require foreign military vessels in transit to give prior notification or obtain their prior authorization for passage. We firmly support the strait states in their just struggle to safeguard their sovereignty and security against superpower maritime hegemony.

We hold that the international sea-bed area should be used for peaceful purposes. Resources in the inter-

national sea area are, in principle, owned jointly by the people of all countries, and it is for all countries to work out together an effective international regime and set up an appropriate international machinery to manage and exploit these resources. We are firmly opposed to any form of superpower manipulation or monopoly and to the exclusive control or arbitrary exploitation of international deep-sea resources by the one or two superpowers on the strength of their advanced technology.

Third World's Unity

The above are the consistent attitude and views of the Chinese Government on certain important questions of the law of the sea. They stem from the fundamental position of defending the sovereignty of all countries, protecting national interests and combating superpower hegemonism. The new legal regime of the sea must accord with the interests of the numerous developing countries, the basic interests of the people of the world and the direction in which the times are advancing. The Third World countries have for long suffered greatly from aggression, bullying, oppression and plunder by colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism; and they are now faced with the historic task of combating colonialism, neo-colonialism and great-power hegemonism, developing the national economy and building their own countries. Our common lot and common tasks provide a firm foundation for our unity in the fight. This is an important guarantee for our victory. The superpowers are most afraid of the unity of us developing countries, and they are now trying hard to exploit certain differences among us to sow dissension in a vain attempt to crush us one by one and achieve their aim of controlling, dominating and plundering the developing countries. We must maintain high vigilance. Although we developing countries may have differences of one kind or another on certain specific issues, it is fully possible and essential for us, on the premise of mutual respect for sovereignty and of unity against hegemonism, to work out a reasonable solution through friendly consultations in a spirit of seeking common ground while reserving differences, and of equality and mutual benefit. The fundamental interests of us developing countries, both land-locked and coastal, are identical, and, on the major issue of combating hegemonism, our vital interests are all the more closely linked. We must take note of the fact that the struggles in connection with the law of the sea are sharp and complicated and that the hegemonic forces will never step down from the stage of history of their own accord. We are confident that, so long as the Third World countries and peoples persist in unity, unite with all forces that can be united with and carry on a protracted and unrelenting struggle, they will steadily win new victories.

China is a developing socialist country belonging to the Third World. The Chinese people and the people

of the other Third World countries and all oppressed nations and peoples have always supported, assisted and encouraged one another. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, adhere to the just and principled position, resolutely stand together with the other developing countries and all the countries that cherish independence and sovereignty and oppose hegemonism, and work together with them to establish a fair and reasonable new law of the sea which meets the requirements of the present era and safeguards the sovereignty and national economic interests of all countries.

In conclusion, the Chinese delegation deems it necessary to point out that the traitorous Lon Nol clique is a handful of national scum of Cambodia long repudiated by the Cambodian people, and that it can in no way represent the Cambodian people. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk is the sole legal government representing the Cambodian people. The representation of the traitorous Lon Nol clique at the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is entirely illegal.

It must also be solemnly pointed out that, at present, there exist two administrations in south Viet Nam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Saigon authorities. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the authentic representative of the south Vietnamese people. In these circumstances, it is inappropriate and unreasonable for the Saigon authorities unilaterally to be represented at this conference. Here we would like to mention in passing that what the representative of the Saigon authorities said when referring to the Hsisha and Nansha Islands in his statement of June 28 is nothing but a shameless slander which confounds black and white. The Government of the People's Republic of China has on more than one occasion solemnly declared that the Hsisha and Nansha Islands in South China Sea have always been an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The Chinese Government and people will definitely not tolerate any infringement on China's territorial integrity and sovereignty by the Saigon authorities on whatever pretext.

At the meetings held in the past few days, the delegations of some Arab and African countries expressed their concern over the absence of representatives of national-liberation organizations from the present conference. We fully sympathize with and support their just position. The Chinese delegation considers it unjustified that these national-liberation movements and organizations are not represented at this conference on the law of the sea. The national-liberation movements and organizations which are now engaged in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and Zionism are fully entitled and should be invited to participate in this conference.

Deceptive Tricks of Soviet Social-Imperialism

POSING as a "friend" of the developing nations at the beginning of the general debate at the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea, Soviet delegation leader I.K. Kolosovsky rattled on about "consistent support" of Soviet revisionism for the peoples' anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle. He hypocritically declared that in solving law of the sea problems the interests of all developing countries should be "taken into account." He even pretended he would "recognize" the 200-mile economic zone. But people were rather doubtful about the "sweet-sounding" tunes of Soviet social-imperialism that has obstinately opposed the Third World countries defending their maritime sovereignty. A cursory analysis reveals that this is merely its usual trick of deception. An Asian delegate hit the nail on the head when he pointed out that the fundamental position of the Soviet Union had not changed.

To extricate themselves from isolation in the face of the raging struggle by many nations against the superpowers' maritime hegemony, the Soviet revisionists had to give verbal "recognition" to the proposal for a 200-mile economic zone. Their representative claimed that the future convention on the law of the sea "can include the recognition of the right of the coastal countries to establish an economic zone up to 200 miles." At the same time many restrictions and preconditions were proposed behind the word "but." The change in tactics proves that Soviet revisionism is the most cunning enemy of the Third World countries and peoples and reveals its weak nature as well.

Acting Like Speculators

First of all, like speculators trying to get a high price, the Soviet revisionists blustered that all parties concerned in the rectification of the outdated law of the sea must "reach agreement simultaneously" on "the acceptable solutions to all the most important issues on the law of the sea." Obviously, the Soviet revisionists are trying to use their false recognition of the 200-mile economic zone as bait to cajole the Third World countries into accepting the Soviet revisionists' one-sided views and making concessions on other issues in relation to the law of the sea, including the breadth of the territorial sea and the passage through straits, at the expense of their state sovereignty and national economic interests. What the Soviet revisionists are particularly concerned about is "the free passage" through straits by "all ships." This despicable conspiracy merits serious attention and vigilance.

It was not accidental that the representative of Soviet revisionism talked glibly about the "freedom

of international navigation" and "freedom of the high seas." Under the signboard of "deep concern" for the development of international trade, he feverishly advocated "the free passage" by "all ships" through the straits adjacent to the high seas and for international navigation, which in fact means "the free passage" through straits within the territorial waters of other countries. He babbled that "traditional criteria for the free passage by all ships through such straits have taken shape" and that these criteria conform to "the interests" of "all countries." As a matter of fact, the "freedom of international navigation" he advertised is only a "freedom" for the superpowers to contend for maritime hegemony and engage in aggression and expansion, and therefore has nothing in common with the aspirations of Third World nations and other countries to develop normal marine navigation. To put it bluntly, the Soviet revisionist call for "free passage" through straits by "all ships" is to insist that Soviet warships and nuclear submarines sail at will the territorial seas of other countries and pass without check through straits under the jurisdiction of other nations so as to act high and mighty on the oceans of the world and threaten the peace and security of other countries.

Emasculating Essence of 200-Mile Economic Zone

Second, the Soviet revisionists also have arbitrarily put forward a premise that should "a 200-mile economic zone" be included in "the future convention on the law of the sea," the following term must be put in as well: As coastal countries are unable to catch a "hundred per cent" of the fish that can be caught in their economic zones, they "should" give foreign fishing boats "the right" to fish in those zones "on the basis of indiscrimination" so as to "take into consideration the legitimate interests of all other nations"; otherwise they will have to be held responsible for the "useless death of fish." This actually is a refurbished version of the arbitrary proposal Soviet revisionism submitted to the U.N. Sea-Bed Committee to the effect that the coastal countries should only be allowed the "preferential fishing rights." Flaunting the banner of giving "preferential fishing rights" to the coastal nations in their 200-mile economic zones, Soviet revisionism is actually trying to grant itself the right to intrude into the territorial seas and zones under the jurisdiction of other countries and wantonly plunder their fishery resources. The Soviet revisionist proposal therefore has emasculated the very essence of the stand for a 200-mile exclusive economic zone. This shows that its readiness to "recognize" "the right of the coastal coun-

tries to establish an economic zone up to 200 miles" is an absolute lie.

Disguising himself as a victim, the Soviet revisionist representative asserted that establishment of a 200-mile economic zone would inflict "heavy losses" on Soviet fishing. This is a self-confession by Soviet revisionism of its crime in illegally fishing in the waters of the Third World for a long period in the past. In the last ten years, the catches by Soviet revisionism, this super-fishing despot, in the waters of Asian, African, Latin American and other countries accounted for three-fourths of its total catches. Its outer-sea and distant water catches made up 88 per cent of its total catches in 1972 alone. The indiscriminate fishing by Soviet revisionism has resulted in the exhaustion of the fishery resources in a number of areas and near extinction of some species. Today, this pirate still dreams of playing the tyrant at sea by forbidding other countries to defend their legitimate rights and interests. This is another ugly show put on by Soviet revisionism in clinging to its policy of hegemonic expansion.

In addition, the Soviet revisionist representative repeated the tired cliché of sham detente, advertised again and again the principles of the outdated law of

the sea based on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism and continued peddling the rubbish of a "consensus," which in fact means that the superpowers have the right to control the conference through a veto against the majority, in an attempt to impose Soviet revisionism's will on the conference and thus push ahead with its maritime hegemonism.

Though the Soviet revisionist representative blustered at the meeting, he could not conceal the predicament of "flowers fall off, do what one may" this superpower is in. When the united struggle by the Third World countries against hegemonism is surging to great heights, Soviet revisionism is more and more revealing itself as social-imperialism and finding itself more and more isolated. During the debate on the rules of procedure at the current conference, its ambitious proposal of maintaining an actual veto was turned down. Whatever future tricks it may continue to use on the question of the sea, it can never check the victorious advance of the Third World countries in their struggle in defence of state sovereignty and national economic interests and against the maritime hegemonism of the superpowers.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

Intolerable Bullying

THE Indian Government has recently intensified its suppression of Sikkim's demand for national independence in an attempt to deprive the King of Sikkim of his powers and realize its ambition to fully control and annex Sikkim. This Indian government action has again revealed its ugly expansionist features and aroused strong opposition among the Sikkimese people.

Last April, the Indian Government manipulated an election in Sikkim, thus putting the Sikkim Assembly in the grip of the pro-Indian elements. Moreover, on June 20, India manufactured a "constitution" bill through the assembly, which, on the pretext of "reform," would reduce the King of Sikkim, who stands for independence, to a titular "head of state," and put all power in Sikkim in the hands of the "chief executive" nominated by India. The "constitution" bill even flagrantly stipulates that the Government of Sikkim "may seek participation in political institutions of India" and "the development of Sikkim may be brought within the ambit of the Planning Commission of India." This actually is designed to deprive Sikkim of its every right to independence and reduce it to a colony of India.

India's naked expansionist action against Sikkim has aroused indignation among all justice-upholding

countries and people the world over. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. This is an irresistible trend of history in today's world. Since World War II, scores of colonies, protectorates and trust territories in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania have freed themselves from imperialist and colonialist shackles and declared their independence. Among them, however, only India has inherited since independence the British colonial policy in the 19th century by making Sikkim its protectorate and carrying out colonial rule over it. India has not only sent troops to Sikkim to control its internal, external, political and economic affairs, but also has tried to go further by dethroning the King of Sikkim and annexing the country. The Indian Government's gross trampling on Sikkim's sovereignty is an outright act of colonial expansion running completely counter to the historical trend in the present-day world.

Engels pointed out: "No one can enslave a nation with impunity." History has proved, and will continue to prove, that all policies of national oppression can only arouse national resistance. The Indian expansionists who are bullying others intolerably will inevitably eat their own bitter fruit.

(Abridged translation of an article by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, July 3)

Which Aspects of the Slave System Did Confucius Uphold?

By Kao Heng, Professor of the Department of
Chinese Literature, Shantung University

THE Western Chou Dynasty (1066?-771 B.C.) of China was still a slave society, the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) was the period of transition from slave to feudal society, and the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) was in the early stage of feudal society.

In the Spring and Autumn Period, the productive forces made rapid headway as a result of the widespread use of iron implements (especially farm tools); the slave class waged sharp struggles against the slave-owning class, while aristocrats within the states struggled for power among themselves, and the princes and dukes of the various states were locked in wars to seize cities and territory. Consequently, the economic base of slave society—the relations of production between the slave-owners and slaves—was gradually transformed into the economic base of feudal society, that is, the relations of production between landlords and peasants. Step by step, the superstructure of slave society was transforming into that of feudal society. The slave social system was falling apart and the feudal social system was gradually taking shape.

Under the old relations of production, the slave-owners were still slave-owners and the slaves remained slaves. Under the new relations of production, some slave-owners became landlords and some slaves became peasants. At the same time, because land could be bought and sold, a number of wealthy merchants evolved into new emerging landlords by buying land and leasing it to peasant tenants. In the course of this social advance in which the old classes and institutions were being superseded by new ones, the slave-owners—particularly the princes, dukes and senior officials—all stubbornly upheld certain systems of the slave society of the Western Chou Dynasty so as to preserve their hereditary privileges to hold land and political power and rule the people. The landlords, especially the newly emerging ones, however, demanded that these systems be shattered and the privileges abrogated. The slave-owners and the new emerging landlords were struggling against each other, but the latter had not yet grown in strength.

Confucius (551-479 B.C.), who lived in the late Spring and Autumn Period, was a thinker who took the stand of the slave-owners, safeguarded the slave social system and defended the prerogatives of the slave-owners. Under the then historical conditions, his po-

litical views were conservative, backward and reactionary. Some people, including myself, once considered Confucius a progressive figure who initiated the feudal political, moral, educational and other theories for the landlord class in feudal society. This has proved to be quite a big mistake.

Confucius' Political Line—Upholding the Slave System of the Western Chou Dynasty

Confucius advocated returning to the old order. His political stand was to return to the rites of the Western Chou Dynasty, that is, the Western Chou slave social system. (The rites referred to by Confucius meant the social system and the ceremonies for the confirmation of young men reaching manhood, for marriages, funerals, sacrifices and so on. These ceremonies were off-shoots of the social system and this article deals only with the latter.)

Books recording the rites of Western Chou were still extant in the Spring and Autumn Period. This can be verified by some existing writings of that period and the subsequent Warring States Period. Confucius proclaimed again and again that he was protecting the rites of Chou. He said: "Chou had the benefit of surveying the two preceding dynasties. How prosperous and rich was its culture! I follow Chou." Following Chou meant inheriting the rites of Chou. He also said: "After the death of King Wen*, is not all the culture personified here in me?" That is to say, he regarded himself as a successor to King Wen. On another occasion he said: "How utterly debilitated I am! It has been a long time since I saw the Duke of Chou** in my dream." That

* King Wen of Chou was the king of the Chou tribal state under the slave system towards the end of the Shang Dynasty. During his reign he continued to increase the strength and expand the territory of his state. This laid the foundation for his son King Wu to overthrow the Shang Dynasty and found the Western Chou slave-holding dynasty. Confucius and rulers of the past extolled King Wen as an ideal sage-king.

** Duke of Chou, a son of King Wen and a brother of King Wu, helped King Wu overthrow the Shang Dynasty. Following the latter's death, he was regent when the successor to the throne was still young. He played an important part in consolidating the slave system of the Western Chou Dynasty and setting up the institutions under this system. Therefore, he was highly praised by Confucius and past rulers.

is to say, his intention to succeed the Duke of Chou often was manifested in his dreams.

Confucius said: "As the Yin Dynasty followed the rites of the Hsia Dynasty, its modifications of these rites can be known. As the Chou Dynasty followed the rites of the Yin Dynasty, its modifications can be known. We know what the successors to Chou will be like, even though they appear 100 generations later." By citing these sentences, some people held that Confucius advocated both inheriting and modifying the rites of Chou, and they therefore praised the progressive nature of his thinking. Without examining what Confucius wanted to inherit and what he wanted to modify with regard to the rites of Chou, they reached an arbitrary conclusion only from the abstract concepts in these sentences so as to prettify Confucius. These are purely idealist and metaphysical viewpoints and methods.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions. . . ." Proceeding from relatively ancient but reliable historical records concerning Confucius, I made a preliminary exploration of what Confucius wanted to inherit and what he wanted to modify with regard to the rites of Chou. My conclusion is that Confucius wanted to inherit all the important political systems of the Western Chou Dynasty.

Safeguarding the Western Chou's Ducal States, Hierarchy and Inheritance

To preserve the slave-owners' prerogatives to rule and exploit the working people (mainly the slaves), the Western Chou Dynasty set up three systems — ducal states (installing hereditary nobles to rule their domains), hierarchy and inheritance. The setting up of ducal states meant that the upper rank slave-owners parcelled out land, people and political power to lower rank slave-owners. This was a system by which the slave-owning class ruled and exploited the working people area by area. The hierarchy meant dividing people generally into six classes — the son of Heaven (the sovereign), dukes, senior officials, *shih*, commoners and slaves. This was the system by which the slave-owning class at different levels ruled and exploited the working people. The system of inheritance meant that a slave-owner's title of nobility, land, people, political power and wealth were in principle to be inherited by the eldest son of the legal wife down through the generations, while all the other sons were entitled to certain rights.

Though their concrete contents were gradually expanded or changed, the three systems served the slave-owning class in ruling and exploiting the working people from generation to generation. They were organically interlocked and thus formed a well-organized network to preserve the slave-owning class' privileges

in the political, economic, cultural spheres and in everyday life. Their essence was to safeguard the tyrannical and predatory rule of the slave-owning class, and they most conspicuously represented the interests of the slave-owning aristocrats.

Confucius stubbornly upheld these three systems of the Western Chou Dynasty, which can be ascertained by the following evidence.

First, in the *Analepts*, a book recording his words and deeds, Confucius said: "When right principles prevail in the country, ceremonies, music and punitive military expeditions proceed from the son of Heaven; when right principles do not prevail in the country, ceremonies, music and punitive military expeditions proceed from the dukes. . . . When right principles prevail in the country, government will not be in the hands of the senior officials; when right principles prevail in the country, commoners do not discuss public affairs." This shows that in Confucius' ideal society where right principles prevailed there were the son of Heaven, dukes, senior officials and commoners. Such a society preserved the systems of the ducal states — and the hierarchy of the Western Chou Dynasty (the dukes and senior officials at the time came from the setting up of ducal states).

Second, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (an official chronicle of the State of Lu — one of the ducal states at that time) was written by Confucius. The central theme of this book was to safeguard the three Western Chou systems of setting up ducal states, a hierarchy and inheritance and rectify the titles of king, minister, father and son so as to attain the order which Confucius described as "the king is a king, the minister a minister, the father a father and the son a son."

Third, later Confucianists in the Warring States Period like Mencius all upheld these three systems of Western Chou and elaborated them. They all carried on the teachings of Confucius.

With these three pieces of evidence, we can firmly conclude that Confucius upheld the three systems.

All three were political systems of slave society and protected the slave-owning aristocrats' privileges. Towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period, the rule of the slave-owning class was being replaced by that of the landlord class. It was the inevitable trend of historical development that the new emerging landlords would move into the ruling position. Landlord class rule would throw overboard the Western Chou's system of installing hereditary ducal states and build instead the prefectural and county system based on centralized power and autocratic monarchy; it would also do away with the hierarchy of the Western Chou Dynasty and institute another hierarchy under the principle of centralized power and autocratic monarchy; to replace the Western Chou's system of inheritance, it would establish a patriarchal system retaining inheritance for the son of Heaven but abolishing inheritance by the aristocrats.

CORRECTION: In our last issue (No. 27), p. 21, left-hand column, line 7, for "peasants" read "people."

In short, the landlord class of feudal society would abolish the system under which the slave-owning class at different levels ruled and exploited the working people on a regional and hereditary basis, abrogate the privileges of the slave-owning aristocrats at all levels excluding those of the son of Heaven, and establish a system which ensured landlord class rule over and exploitation of the working people and represented the interests of that class. This was the objective law of social development.

The three systems safeguarded by Confucius were the political systems of slave society and not those of feudal society; they represented the interests of the slave-owners and not those of the new emerging landlords. In advocating them, Confucius took the stand of the slave-owners, served their interests, went against the law of social development and tried to check the advance of the wheel of history. What he upheld was not only conservative and backward, but reactionary.

Upholding the Written Law of the Western Chou Dynasty

Rulers of slave society all formulated written law codes. These codes were important instruments by which the slave-owning class persecuted the working people so as to maintain its rule and preserve its rights; they constituted an important part of the political system of slave society. The Spring and Autumn Period was a time of transition from slave society to feudal society and there were changes in the economic base and class relations. To meet the needs of their rule, certain slave-owning aristocrats introduced some changes in the law codes.

According to records in historical books, the State of Cheng cast its law code in metal, the State of Tsin cast an iron tripod inscribed with its law code and the State of Cheng later adopted a law code written on bamboo slips. Though the contents of these codes cannot be verified and only scattered paragraphs exist, it can be affirmed that the law codes of the Shang and Western Chou Dynasties were instruments by which the slave-owning class ruled, and those of the Spring and Autumn Period guaranteed certain rights to the landlords and the peasants, negated certain rights of the slave-owners and brought in essentials of feudal society at the expense of slave society. The latter codes were more progressive than the former ones.

Confucius defended the law code of the Western Chou Dynasty and opposed reform. According to historical records, when Confucius heard that the State of Tsin had cast an iron tripod bearing the law code, he firmly opposed this, saying: "Tsin probably will soon perish because they lost their criterion." This revealed that Confucius upheld the written law of slave society and the slave-owners' prerogative to persecute the working people more cruelly, and opposed a new written law that had some progressive content and the provi-

sion in the law code giving certain rights to the landlords and peasants. This also was not only conservative and backward, but reactionary.

Moreover, the law codes of slave society were in the hands of the slave-owning aristocrats, open to the aristocrats but kept secret from the *shih*, commoners and slaves. The aristocrats could add, delete or change the provisions of the law at will so as to deceive and persecute the *shih*, commoners and slaves. When the law code was inscribed on a tripod and made known to the public, the aristocrats could no longer freely add, delete or change its articles. Since this was favourable to the *shih*, commoners and slaves, particularly the new emerging landlords, the casting of a tripod bearing the law code was a progressive political measure.

However, Confucius was dead against this step. He argued that as long as the law code was kept secret in the hands of the aristocrats who had the right to manipulate it, the people would respect and fear the aristocrats who could then keep their private property. When the law code was made public to the *shih*, commoners and slaves and the aristocrats could no longer manipulate it, then the above-mentioned situation would be reversed. In defending the prerogative of the slave-owning aristocrats to secretly control the law code so as to manipulate it at will, Confucius unequivocally stood on their side and spoke for them. This was not only conservative and backward, but reactionary.

Conclusion

The slave system of the Western Chou Dynasty Confucius defended embraced mainly the four above-mentioned systems, that is, setting up ducal states, a hierarchy, inheritance and punishment (law code). They gradually were collapsing during the Spring and Autumn Period. To preserve the slave-owners' privileges, Confucius went round advocating a return to the old order and opposing reform in an effort to perpetuate the slave system.

Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and other political swindlers like them tried to oppose Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the rubbish of Confucius and Confucianism. In spreading the "doctrines of Confucius and Mencius" and lauding "benevolence, righteousness, loyalty and forbearance," they were sniping at the dictatorship of the proletariat, thumping the drums for capitalist restoration and obsequiously echoing the social-imperialists. Though their wild ambition turned into a nightmare for them and their intrigues were reduced to ashes, this struggle in the ideological sphere is far from over. Therefore, we must thoroughly expose and seriously criticize the class nature of the political line by which Confucius safeguarded the slave system and all the theories subordinate to this line.

(An abridged translation of an article published in "Guangming Ribao")

ROUND THE WORLD

DAR-ES SALAAM

Sixth Pan-African Congress

The Sixth Pan-African Congress was convened in Dar-es-Salaam, capital of Tanzania, from June 19 to 27. The Fifth Congress took place in Manchester, Britain, in 1945.

Delegates from 32 African and Latin American countries, representatives of African descendants from North America and Britain as well as from nine African liberation movements participated in the congress. Representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization also attended upon invitation.

The congress unanimously adopted the General Declaration of the Sixth Pan-African Congress and many resolutions.

The General Declaration said that the congress called on the peoples of Africa, of African descent and of the world to take common action to put an end to foreign domination and to liquidate the foundations of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and Zionism.

The Resolution On the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa hailed the victories achieved in the armed struggle waged by the people in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, Zimbabwe and other parts of Africa still under the colonial yoke. The resolution pointed out: "These victories demonstrate the courage and determination of the African people to free themselves, to be masters of their destiny, and by force of their own efforts to uproot foreign colonialist and racist domination."

The Resolution Condemning the Atrocities Committed by the Portuguese Colonial Authorities in Mozambique said that the delegates affirmed that no manoeuvre by the Portuguese colonial authorities could prevent the people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape

Verde Islands, Sao Tome Island and Principe Island from fighting for their freedom and independence.

The Resolution On the Palestine Question declared unshakable support for the just cause of the Palestinian people.

In his opening speech, Tanzanian President Nyerere, Congress Chairman, called on the delegates to give their full support to the African liberation movements and strengthen unity with the Third World.

GUINEA-BISSAU AND MOZAMBIQUE

Continuing Armed Struggle For Complete Independence

The African Party for Independence in Guinea and Cape Verde (P.A.I.G.C.) and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) recently held preliminary talks on the question of national independence and ending the colonial war with the new Portuguese regime formed after the military coup on April 25 this year. The P.A.I.G.C. and FRELIMO demand Portugal's recognition of the right to independence of the people of the colonies and insist on realizing complete independence on the basis of territorial integrity. They have solemnly declared that they will not cease armed struggle until independence is won.

Talks between Portugal and the P.A.I.G.C., begun in London on May 25, were transferred to Algiers on June 13. The negotiations were suspended because of the Portuguese side's refusal to recognize Cape Verde as a component part of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Leader of the P.A.I.G.C. delegation Pires declared that Portugal must recognize the principle of the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, and not merely the ceasefire. Luis Cabral, President of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, pointed out that if the Portuguese Government "does

"SPARK" (SWEDEN)

Two Superpowers Preparing For War in Europe

The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are preparing for war in Europe, the focus of their contention, *Spark*, organ of the Communist Party of Sweden, pointed out in an editorial in its June 20-25 issue. It called for paying close attention to Soviet social-imperialism's policies of arms expansion and war preparations.

The editorial said that the Soviet leaders glibly talk about "peace" and "security" in Europe, but the Soviet Union has been engaged in arms expansion and war preparations since it occupied Czechoslovakia in 1968. In the last six years, it has greatly increased the strength of its troops in Europe.

An article in the same issue said: "So long as Europe is under the control of the two powers which are engaged in unprecedented arms expansion, any talk about European 'detente' and 'peace' is nothing but illusion." It added: "There have never been so many negotiations as now, but not much has so far come about from the various conferences on 'disarmament' and 'security.' These conferences have simply had the effect of diverting people's attention from military confrontation in Europe and giving them the false impression that the superpowers are willing to negotiate and co-operate."

not respect our victory on the battlefield or in the international arena," then the Republic of Guinea-Bissau "will continue our struggle with more determination and more courage."

Portugal and the FRELIMO held talks in the Zambian capital Lusaka

on June 5 and 6. The Portuguese delegate said that he came to Lusaka to negotiate nothing more than a ceasefire. No agreement was reached in the talks, except that negotiations would be resumed in Lusaka in the first half of July.

On the eve of the negotiations, Samora Machel, President of the FRELIMO, reaffirmed that the Portuguese Government must, first of all, recognize the right of the Mozambique people to independence. Vice-President of the FRELIMO Santos pointed out: "The Lusaka talks represent the opening of a new front, but the main front, the front of war, armed struggle, remains and must continue until Mozambique is completely independent."

✎ The stand of the P.A.I.G.C. and FRELIMO was fully supported by the recent 11th O.A.U. summit assembly held in Mogadishu from June 12 to 16. The assembly appealed to all countries and organizations "not to establish diplomatic relations or any form of co-operation with the new regime in Portugal" until it recognizes the right to independence of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Totally disregarding the just voice of the African countries, however, the Soviet social-imperialists, who claim to be "the natural reliable ally" of the African people, hastily established diplomatic relations with Portugal on June 9 and even declared they would give it financial assistance. This is another exposure of the Soviet revisionists' sham support but real betrayal of the national-liberation movements.

ANDEAN PACT ORGANIZATION

Five Years of Advance

The Andean Pact Organization, a Latin American regional economic organization, has kept advancing along the road of realizing economic integration and promoting national economic development in the five years since its founding.

✎ The Andean Pact Organization, founded in May 1969, is aimed at developing regional economy step by

step and shaking off dependence on big powers.

Based on the principle of "promoting a balanced and co-ordinated development among the member nations and accelerating economic development through integration" and "making use of local resources at the maximum limit," as laid down in the pact, the organization has in the past five years made positive progress in expanding trade through the gradual removal of tariff barriers among member countries, restricting and eliminating monopoly by foreign capital and drafting a co-ordinated industrial development programme. The gross national product of the member nations of the organization amounts to about 35,000 million U.S. dollars, with an export capacity of 6,000 million dollars.

In accordance with the Common Regulations on Foreign Capital which came into force on July 1, 1971, the member nations adopted measures to restrict and control foreign capital in varying degrees. The regulations stipulate that the profits taken out by foreign enterprises every year should not exceed 14 per cent of their investments and that foreign enterprises must sell within a specified period of time at least 51 per cent of their share holdings to the investors of the countries where the enterprises are located. In August 1973, the meeting of foreign ministers of the member states of the pact reaffirmed the necessity of taking every step to achieve the target stipulated in the regulations in the shortest possible time.

The Andean Pact Organization has expanded economic contacts with other Latin American countries. In order to get rid of the superpowers' control, the Andean group has also strengthened ties with the European Economic Community, Japan, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany, and formed a mixed commission with Spain. The expansion of international economic relations reflects the group's steady growth in strength and the ever greater world attention it draws.

The founding and development of the Andean Pact Organization reflects

the burning desire of the developing countries to build up their national economies independently and establish equal and mutually beneficial relations in international trade. It shows that the awakening Third World countries and peoples are closing ranks to shake off economic monopoly and plunder by the superpowers.

JAMAICA

Foreign Bauxite Companies Pay New Taxes

Taxes set by the Jamaican Government under the new tax law have been paid on time by the six foreign-owned bauxite companies operating in Jamaica. The law had been passed recently by the Jamaican Parliament.

The Bank of Jamaica reported on June 24 that the six companies had paid, one day before the June 22 deadline set by the government, a total of 39.06 million U.S. dollars as first-quarter tax payments.

The Jamaican Government started negotiations last March 18 with the companies on new contracts on bauxite revenue. Because of the failure to reach agreement, the government announced on May 15 a decision to enforce a law on collecting new taxes from all foreign-owned bauxite companies in the country.

The Prime Ministers of Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago issued a joint statement on June 8 expressing complete support for the action of the Jamaican Government. It said that the government's taxation is "a significant step in the direction of finding solutions to the problem of the deteriorating terms of trade which is of central concern to all countries of the Third World."

The second phase of negotiations between the Jamaican Government and the six foreign-owned bauxite companies will begin soon. The questions covered will include the acquisition by the government of bauxite concessions and future participation by Jamaica in the industry as a whole.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Bumper Summer Grain Harvest in Honan and Chekiang

ONE of China's major wheat producers — Honan Province — has had another bumper wheat harvest. In both total output and per-hectare yield, wheat production was even higher than last summer's rich harvest, reaching the highest level in their history, and more than double the figures for 1965, the year before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began.

East China's Chekiang Province reported a 40 per cent increase this summer in total output and per-hectare yield of barley, wheat and broad beans over last year, while total rape seed production was 30 per cent higher.

Both provinces were hit by serious drought last winter through this spring, with many areas having little or no rain for four months in a row. The deepening movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius had increased the enthusiasm of the cadres and commune members for socialism. Displaying unmatched revolutionary spirit, they pledged: "The worse the drought, the greater our drive to conquer it. We'll rely on ourselves and not heaven to gather in bumper harvests." They courageously fought back against natural disasters by

relying on the collective strength of the people's communes.

One example was in Lankao County in Honan Province. While fully using the water conservancy projects they had built, the peasants drilled wells and dug ditches round the clock to expand the irrigated acreage. As a result, the county's 43,000 hectares of wheat registered, on the average, a 30 per cent increase over the 1973 figure.

Peasants in Puchiang County, Chekiang Province, carried water uphill to irrigate terraced fields when drought was serious, and the county had a good harvest.

In both Honan and Chekiang Provinces, great numbers of rural cadres, veteran peasants and educated young people have formed "three-in-one" scientific research groups to actively develop scientific farming. Improved seeds accounted for more than 90 per cent of Honan's wheat acreage. Commune cadres and peasants have co-operated with experts to set up a provincial network to forecast insect pests, and biological and physical methods were popularized to control them. Leading cadres at various levels in Shaohsing County, Chekiang Province, worked with veteran peasants and agro-technicians on experimental plots. High-yield fields accounted for 21 per cent of the county's total acreage planted to summer grain.

People from many quarters gave all-out support to agriculture. There were considerable increases in the supply of farm machinery, chemical fertilizers and other products supporting agriculture, all of them better in quality. Many fac-

ories and mines sent out special teams to the countryside to help communes and brigades build water conservancy projects, repair farm machinery and train technical personnel, all of which contributed to the bumper harvest this summer.

Breeding Freshwater Fish

FRESHWATER fish breeding has made much progress since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began. Last year, the nation's total freshwater fish raising area was 1.4 times that of 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution started, and total catch went up 11.1 per cent as compared with 1972. According to the incomplete statistics of nine major fish-producing provinces and municipalities, production for the first quarter of 1974 was 6.7 per cent more than in the same period last year.

China is rich in inland water resources, with numerous ponds, reservoirs, lakes and rivers which are advantageous to developing freshwater fish breeding. However, because of the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, freshwater fish breeding developed at a slow pace before the Great Cultural Revolution and breeding areas were mainly concentrated in parts of east and south China. Since Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line was repudiated in the Great Cultural Revolution, cadres and commune members have shown greater revolutionary enthusiasm than before, with the result that many new breeding grounds have been added to the existing ones which are all fully utilized. This has helped develop freshwater fish breeding to meet the needs of socialist construction and the people's demands. Now, whether it is on the Yunnan-Kweichow Plateau in southwest China, in Heilungkiang and Inner Mongolia in the north or Sinkiang in the west, most provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have developed freshwater fish breeding. Today, fish have new homes in reservoirs and lakes as well as canals instead of small ponds as in the past. A great



Members of a scientific research group of a production brigade in Chekiang Province's Haining County summing up experience gained from a rich wheat harvest.

number of villages which had never raised fish before have now begun breeding them.

To speed up production, reservoirs and lakes in various places have been dredged, so that fish can be raised in a planned way. Lake Taihu in east China is one of the country's well-known freshwater lakes. Fish production brigades along the lake have done a lot to improve breeding conditions there. While doing their best to protect natural fish resources, they have also picked out some lake channels rich in aquatic plants to promote artificial breeding. Fish production has risen quickly, and the lake's total output in 1973 was 2.5 times that of the peak annual figure before liberation.

Greatly developing fish breeding on the outskirts of cities and towns is a special aspect of freshwater fish breeding in China in recent years. The people of Hengyang city in Hunan Province have combined digging fish ponds on the outskirts with city construction and agricultural water conservancy projects. For instance, when river embankments were to be strengthened, they moved earth from places which they later systematically turned into fish ponds. City sewage pipes in Hengyang carry household dirty water to paddyfields and fish ponds on the outskirts. By 1973, fish breeding areas on the outskirts had doubled and last year's total catch was nine times that of 1949.

Fishermen and research workers in the field across the country have studied the laws of breeding fish in fresh water. They study and exchange experience on how to increase per-unit output and prevent fish diseases. This has played a positive role in increasing output. To raise the fish density, fishermen and research workers in Shanghai and Wusih have trial-produced a device to increase oxygen in the water. Per-unit output has gone up notably in fish ponds into which oxygen has been introduced. Herbal medicines have been used in some places to prevent and treat diseases common among domestic fish. This has effectively brought some serious and high death-rate fish diseases under control.

(Continued from p. 3.)

11th Conference of the Heads of State and Government of O.A.U. adopted a series of important resolutions for strengthening African unity and the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Above all, it gave effective support to the people of the Portuguese colonies and other regions which are not yet independent in their struggle for national independence. The conference solemnly demanded that Portugal recognize without ambiguity the right to total independence of the people of its colonies. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support this solemn demand of their great African brothers. The conference appealed to all countries not to establish diplomatic relations with Portugal if it fails to recognize the colonies' right to independence. The Chinese Government firmly supports and responds to this just appeal.

He also warmly praised the people of Gabon for their gratifying achievements, under the leadership of President Hadj Omar Bongo, in making unremitting efforts to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and develop the national economy. In international affairs, he said, the Gabonese Government upholds African unity, sup-

ports the just struggles of the peoples of Asia and Africa and opposes imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism, thus making useful contributions to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism. He noted both China and Gabon are developing countries that belong to the Third World. The Foreign Minister said: We are convinced that the distinguished Gabonese guests' visit to China will surely make useful contributions to promoting the friendship between the two peoples and enhancing the friendly relations and co-operation between both countries.

In his speech, Minister Delegate Dokwatsegue said: The gains of the Chinese revolution, coupled with those of the Cultural Revolution, undoubtedly constitute the victory of the revolutionary cause undertaken by the great Chinese people under the guidance of the thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

He added: Because we both belong to the Third World and because of our common aspirations for peace, independence and justice, our two countries will surely strengthen co-operation still more.

China always gives effective support to the African peoples who are still under colonial domination, and to the decisions of the Organization

of African Unity, Minister Delegate Dokwatsegue said.

On July 3, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien met with Minister Delegate Dokwatsegue and his wife and all the members of the goodwill mission.

While in China, the Gabonese guests visited Peking, Shanghai and Kwangchow.

News Briefs

• Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping met and had a cordial and friendly conversation on July 6 with all the members of the Sri Lanka Youth Delegation led by Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organizer of the Youth Organization of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping asked the delegation leader to convey Premier Chou En-lai's regards to Sri Lanka Prime Minister Sirimavo R. Dias Bandaranaike when he returned home. The delegation leader also passed on Prime Minister Bandaranaike's regards to Premier Chou En-lai.

• Ni Chih-fu, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met and had a cordial and friendly conversation on July 1 with the Iraqi Trade Union Delegation led by Qasim al-Sharif.

In English

ARTICLES BY MAO TSETUNG

(Some of the works written between 1941 and 1945)

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